

basis to the activist in charge of the "PIJ" on dates of arrests and names of wanted terrorists.

e. Jamal Switat, Deputy Head of the PSA, together with an additional PSA officer, are procuring arms for the "PIJ" and "Hamas", and they constitute the source for most of the arms possessed by these organizations.

f. The suicide terror attack in Afula on 27 November 2001 was a clear expression of the operational cooperation between the intelligence apparatuses and the PIJ. According to the document, one of the suicide bombers who participated in the attack was a GIA member who was recruited by the Deputy Head of the PSA in Jenin (the "PIJ" and "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" took joint responsibility for the attack).

#### The underlined lines:

"The Hamas movement and the PIJ have penetrated the security

"The Hamas movement and the PIJ have penetrated the security apparatuses in Jenin by means of payoffs, including into the GIA."

"Jamal Switat (is) Deputy Head of the Preventive (Intelligence Apparatuses) in Jenin and responsible for the (Islamic) Jihad, he often contacts it and reports to it on the waves of arrests against them, their dates and the names of wanted men. Additionally, he supplies arms to the Hamas and to the (Islamic) Jihad by trading with it."

[First page of the GIA Report, 4 February 2002]



[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

#### Document 2

1. A detailed document by the Head of the GIA in the Tulkarm district dated 6 February 2002 addressed to Tawfiq Tirawi deals with the Fatah and Tanzim terrorist infrastructure in the Tulkarm district. The report states that the Ziad Da'as squad, one of the 3 Fatah/Tanzim squads in the local terrorist infrastructure, planned and coordinated the "Hadera Action" (the lethal attack at the Batmitzvah party, 17 January 2002). The Head of the GIA in the Tulkarm district notes that the activities of this squad are "qualitative and successful". He adds that "the members (of this squad) are close to us (i.e. to the GIA) and maintain ongoing coordination and contacts with us". Two additional squads of the Fatah/Tanzim terrorist infrastructure in Tulkarm are in contact with Marwan Barghouti, who is involved in the power struggles against the intelligence apparatuses and is trying to deepen his influence on the Tulkarm terrorist infrastructure.

#### The underlined lines:

"The Ziad Da'as squad...

This squad carried out qualitative and successful operations. The last one in this framework was the coordination and planning of the operation in Hadera to avenge the death of the martyr Ra'ed Karmi. Its men are very close to us (i.e. to the GIA) and maintain constant coordination and contact with us."



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#### Document 3

A GIA document from the Tulkarm district dated 21 May 2001 addressed to the Head of the GIA in the Ramallah district details the names of 232 terrorists wanted by Israel (nearly two names the word "intelligence" has been added by hand, implying that they are connected to the intelligence apparatuses). The document notes in handwriting "please inform the brothers whose names are mentioned above to take cautionary measures" (and this in addition to the holding of a full security investigation about them).



**The underlined lines:**

"Attached hereto is a form with the names of men wanted by the Israeli occupation who are with you..."

Note: Notify the brothers whose name appears above to take precautionary measures..."

[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

**Examples of the Involvement of PA Apparatuses in Arms Procurement**

In a letter addressed to Fuad Shubaki (Arafat's crony and confidant) an ambitious plan of the "Al Aqsa Martyrs Battalions" (cover name for the Fatah operational arm in the West Bank) to establish a heavy arms production workshop was uncovered. They intend to procure, among other items, a lathe (for which the organization requires \$25,000) and a milling machine (\$40,000). These machines are required for metal processing in the production of weapons such as artillery rockets and mortars (forbidden by the PA-Israel signed agreements).

**Document no. 1**

**Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades  
Palestine**

Construction Materials	
1 Lathe - \$25,000	
2 milling machines - \$40,000	
3 aircraft canopies (Hood in original document) - \$5000	
4 welding machines - \$2000	
5 oxygen machines - \$3000	
7 working tool kits - \$1500	
8 tri-phasia electricity infrastructure - \$2000	
Sum total - \$80,000	
Salaries	3000
	700
	700
	====
	\$4400 - 1
Rent	1800
Monthly supplies	5000
Electricity, materials	2000
+ container trucks	
	====
	\$8800 - 2

1 + 2 = 13,200 per month

Lathe Specifications  
Blade (?) 75 cm  
Meter length  
Internal and external screws from 1 mm until 1 inch  
Variable speed - Fast-slow)  
Engine 5 HP (tri-phasia)  
Knives of various shapes and sizes  
Drill supports and belt  
Main drill cap  
Milling Machine Specifications  
Vertical and horizontal  
Centimeter wide opening in both directions  
Blade latch  
Various types of knives



[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

**Document no. 2**



**Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades  
Palestine**

**Financial Report**

The debts which we have accumulated until now are estimated to be 38000 shekels. The following are the details:

1. The cost of posters of the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades: Azam Mazhar, Usama Jubara, Shadi Afuri, Yasser Badawi, Ahed Fares (addition in handwriting of 2000 shekels).
2. Costs of printed announcements, invitations and mourners shelters for martyrs (addition in handwriting of 1250 shekels).
3. Cost of sticking photos of martyrs on wooden boards and also of the martyrs Thabat Thabet and Mahmud Al Jamil (addition in handwriting of 1000 shekels).
4. Cost of memorial ceremonies for the martyrs. Memorial ceremonies were held for the martyr Azam and the martyr Usama (addition in handwriting of 6000 shekels).
5. Costs of electrical parts and various chemical materials (for manufacture of explosive charges and bombs). This is the greatest expenditure (the cost of one ready explosive charge is 700 shekels at least). We need every week 5-9 explosive charges for squads in the various areas (addition in handwriting of shekel per week x 4 = 20000 shekels per month).
6. The cost of bullets  
The cost of a Kalashnikov bullet is 7-8 shekels and M-16 bullet 2-2.5 shekels. We need bullets on a daily basis.
7. Note: There are 3000 Kalashnikov bullets at a cost of 2 shekels per bullet. We require that you transfer to us immediately a sum of money to purchase them (addition in handwriting of 22,500 shekels for Kalashnikov bullets and 60,000 shekels for M-16 bullets).

In conclusion, all the glory and pride to those supporting the brave resistance against the oppressive occupation.

From the revolution until victory.

Palestinian Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades

16 September 2001



[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

**Chapter IV - The "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" and the Fatah Organization are one and the same, and Yasser Arafat is their leader and commander**

1. Documents captured by the IDF during Operation Defensive Shield prove that the Fatah organization and the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades are one and the same.
2. The documents clearly indicate that the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades are not just a pseudonym for terrorist attacks carried out by the Fatah, but also a dedicated apparatus aimed at perpetrating terror attacks. Until Operation Defensive Shield, this apparatus had been in the process of institutionalization, which is expressed in the correspondence of the brigades with Fatah senior officials, particularly Marwan Barghouti. The Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades terror activity, their arms requirements, their structure and organization (in the Jenin area, for instance) and their financial requirements can be learned from this correspondence (the financing of their activity is very central in the correspondence).
3. According to the captured documents, at the head of the pyramid is Yasser Arafat, the leader of the Fatah, in all its various pseudonyms and apparatuses (Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, Tanzim). One of the documents, which concerns a request to aid detained or wanted terrorists (belonging to the Fatah and the Palestinian security apparatuses) is addressed by the Fatah and the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades to Yasser Arafat personally.
4. It is of note that the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades carried out suicide and murder attacks in growing intensity during the six months prior to Operation Defensive Shield, overshadowing the Hamas and PIJ: after perpetrating two attacks at the end of 2001, they proceeded to carry out continuous attacks in early 2002: 4 terror attacks in January (Hadera, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv), 6 in February (Mehola, IDF base, Jerusalem, Maccabim checkpoint), 9 attacks in March (Netanya,

Ashdod, Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, Kfar Saba, and Efrat). Most of these terror attacks were directed at civilians in Israeli cities. This was the background for the brigades inclusion in the U.S. terror organizations list (27 March 2002).

#### Document 1

"Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades"

(Fatah emblem)

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement "Fatah"



#### Letter of Gratitude and Appreciation

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement, "Fatah" / "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" in the southern area wishes to express its deep gratitude to the fighting brother, Mahmud Jabari (*familiar Fatah activist*) for his cooperation with the fighters of this people and for his loyal bond with the homeland and its revolution.

[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

All of us together on the path towards an independent state and its capital the holy Jerusalem.

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades - Southern Area

(The stamp of "Fatah" and "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades")

#### Document 2

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades      Palestinian National  
Liberation Movement

"Fatah"

To: The honorable brother commander Abu Amar,  
President of the State of Palestine - May God protect and  
preserve him.

Via: The fighting brother, Nabil Amru, the Minister for  
Parliamentary Affairs - May the Almighty protect him.

#### Subject: Request for Financial Aid

The brothers whose names are mentioned below are among the active members of the movement [the Fatah movement] and have played a role during these events. Some of them are wanted and others are held in the prisons of the [Israeli] occupation and they are:



[Click to enlarge original document in Arabic](#)

1. The family of the prisoner Nabil Hamad Mustafa al Birawi (*Note: served in the General Intelligence Apparatus. In his interrogation, he admitted to taking part in a shooting attack against an IDF base in Suseya, the southern part of the Hebron mountains and towards the Suseya bypass road.*)
2. The family of the prisoner Nasser Hussein Ud Abu Qubeitah (*Note: served as a policeman. Arrested for shooting at the Israeli settlement of Suseya.*)
3. Muhammad Mahmud Ali al-Najarah.
4. Jamal Ismail Mustafa Qisiyah.
5. Juad Jamil Khalil Hushiah (*Note: PA National Security Apparatus activist suspected of perpetrating the shooting attack in Suseya.*)
6. Bakhr Khalil Shahadah al-Najar.

With the greatest respect,

Your sons,

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades - Southern Area

(The joint stamp of "Fatah" and "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades")

#### Document 3: Poster



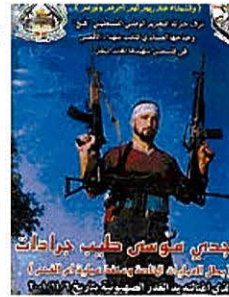
Only those who believed in Allah and His emissaries are the righteous who shall rest under their Lord's shadow and will be rewarded with the light of truth. (Koranic verse)

Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades emblem Fatah emblem

The National Palestinian Liberation Movement, Fatah, and its military wing, the "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" in Palestine, is escorting its casualty, the commander hero on his last trip.

Majdi Musa Tayb Jaradat

*(Hero of the Special Operations, who carried out the Umm el Fahm operation, whom the treacherous Zionist hand murdered on 6 November 2001).*



Click to enlarge original document in Arabic

#### Document 4

In the Name of the All-merciful Allah

"Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades"

(Fatah emblem)

The Palestinian National Liberation Movement "Fatah"

The fighting brother Marwan Barghouti, secretary of the Fatah movement

We, in the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades, Southern Area, request of you to cooperate with the brother carrying this letter, since we have requested him to establish a communications channel between us and yourself, so that we can handle several complicated problems that arose in our sector of the struggle, at this stage of our national struggle.



Click to enlarge original document in Arabic

Together on the path towards an independent state with Jerusalem as its capital.

Your sons,

In the Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades - Southern Area

*(a stamp of "the Palestinian National Liberation Movement - Fatah" and "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades")*

#### The Integration of Women and Children in the Perpetration of Terrorist Attacks

1. The most prominent cases of this phenomenon are the terrorists Wafa Idris, a resident of Ramallah, who carried out a suicide attack in Jerusalem on 27 January 2002 in which one Israeli was killed and 90 wounded, and Darin Abu Aysha from Beit Wazan in Samaria who blew herself up on 27 February 2002 near the Maccabim checkpoint. 2 Israeli policemen were wounded in this attack.

2. An additional case of a woman suicide terrorist is that of Ayyat Al Ahras, aged 18 from the Deheisha refugee camp near Bethlehem, who carried out the suicide attack in a supermarket in the Jerusalem suburb of Kiryat Hayovel on 29 March 2002. 2 Israeli civilians were killed in this attack and 22 wounded.

3. The last suicide attack by a woman was perpetrated on 12 April 2002. The suicide terrorist, Andalib Suleiman, a Tanzim activist aged 21 from Bethlehem, blew herself up in the Machane Yehuda market in Jerusalem. 6 Israeli civilians were killed in the attack, including two foreign workers from China, and over 60 Israelis were wounded.

4. In 2 additional cases, Palestinian women who were about to carry out suicide attacks were arrested by security forces prior to executing their plans.

5. On 11 April 2002, one day after the IDF withdrawal from Tulkarm, the terrorist Safa Al Qudsi, a Tanzim activist aged 26, divorced and mother to a daughter was found in her parents' home. She was about to carry out a suicide attack in Israel dressed as a pregnant woman.

6. When IDF troops entered Bethlehem during Operation Defensive Shield, Shirin Rabiye, a girl aged 15, was taken in for questioning. She admitted to having been recruited by her uncle, a Tanzim activist, in order to perpetrate a suicide attack inside Israel.

7. These are not the only terrorist attacks in which Palestinian women were involved. On 17 January 2001, an Israeli teenager, Ophir Rahum, was



kidnapped and murdered with the involvement of Amana Mona, a journalist from Ramallah who belonged to the Fatah.

8. On 9 August 2001, a suicide attack was carried out in the Sbarro restaurant in downtown Jerusalem. The suicide terrorist was driven to the location by Ahla'am Tamimi, also a journalist of Jordanian descent who resides in Ramallah, and also engaged in intelligence collection for the attack. Ahla'am was also responsible for the laying of an explosive charge which was hidden in a beer bottle in a Jerusalem supermarket on 30 July 2001.

9. On 3 August 2001, there was an attempt to lay an explosive charge in the Tel Aviv Central Bus Station of Iman Asha from Nablus.

10. On 31 August 2001, an explosive charge carried by Abir Hamdan from Nablus exploded during a trip from Tulkarm to Nablus, apparently a "work accident" in the framework of preparations for an attack in a restaurant in Hadera.

11. Recently, the Palestinian terrorist organizations have increased the use of youths in the perpetration of suicide attacks and terrorist acts. In the last nine months, Palestinian children were involved in suicide attacks or in plans to carry out such attacks. Below are a number of examples in which Palestinian youths have been involved in terrorist attacks:

a. Jamil Hamid, a boy aged 15 from Bethlehem who was recruited by the Fatah organization, blew himself up on 31 March 2002 near the clinic in Efrat. 6 Israeli civilians were injured in the explosion.

b. Anwar Hamed, a boy aged 17 from Rafah who was sent to carry out a suicide attack against a vehicle convoy transporting IDF soldiers in the Gaza Strip. Anwar, an uneducated illiterate youth has engaged in drug trafficking, prior to his joining the Fatah.

12. The personal characteristics of the above youths demonstrate once again the cynical exploitation and use made by Palestinian terror organizations of children and unstable persons in order to carry out mass attacks against Israel.

13. It is of note that the PA does not act against this phenomenon and continues persistently to turn a blind eye so that Palestinian boys and girls become a "self-sacrifice" of the whole Palestinian society.

#### **Chapter V - The Palestinian Authority's Possession of Arms in Violation of International Agreements**

1. In the framework of the agreements signed between Israel and the Palestinians, the Palestinian Authority (PA) is committed to maintaining armed forces for internal security purposes and to limiting the arms in its possession. The PA also signed international agreements which clearly define the types of arms and ammunition which its forces can hold. In practice, PA officials have engaged, under the direct instructions of Arafat, in the violation of these agreements since the second half of the 1990s.

2. According to the interim accords signed between Israel and the PA (on 28 September 1995), Palestinian policemen were permitted to carry rifles, pistols and machine-guns. It was also decided that the Palestinian Police would maintain an updated list of the arms carried by its personnel. Therefore, the PA's security forces are not permitted to possess anti-tank and anti-aircraft weapon systems, mortars and ammunition for these systems.

3. The arms smuggling activities into the PA areas, as well as the indigenous production of various types of weapon systems which are banned according to agreements, were planned from the outset by the PA leadership based on a strategic concept regarding a potential conflict with Israel. This concept was formulated and implemented during the second half of the 1990s, i.e. at least 3 years before the start of the present conflict between Israel and the PA in October 2000.

4. Special emphasis was placed by PA elements on the obtainment of anti-tank, anti-aircraft and artillery weapons. During 2001, and especially following the IDF's entry into the PA areas in March 2002, clear evidence was uncovered regarding this continuing process in which an arms and ammunition arsenal had been amassed in violation of agreements concluded with Israel.

5. Senior PA officials engaged in these activities over a long period. The connecting link in the arms smuggling attempts and the arms build-up is Fuad Shubaki, Arafat's close associate and confidante, whose formal role is Chief Financial Officer. Shubaki's name rose to the headlines at the beginning of 2002



with the exposure of his involvement in the attempt to smuggle arms from Iran aboard the Karine-A ship. Shubaki continued his business dealings as usual in the Mukata'a compound, even after the exposure of his involvement in the Karine-A affair, and he was "arrested" by Arafat following this operation.

6. From documents captured by the IDF in the Mukata'a compound in Ramallah, it is clear that the PA is violating the international agreements which it signed. A computer file containing tables regarding arms and ammunition inventories (dated 1999) which was found in the PA Financial Directorate's offices, details the weapons which are to be found in PA facilities. Among other things, the table clearly mentions 7 RPG-7 launchers and 11 rockets (bombs) for the launchers. In addition, various types of heavy machine-guns which are also prohibited by the agreements are in a storage depot.

7. The second document is an approval for the dispatch in practice of RPG-7 anti-tank launchers from PA facilities to the PA's general security forces. The approval was given in November 2001, on official paper of the Financial Directorate headed by Fuad Shubaki. The person receiving the approval was the officer responsible for administration and arms in the office of Haj Ismail Zarzur, head of the General Security Directorate and Commander of the National Security Forces in the West Bank.

8. During March 2002, the IDF captured many weapon systems in the Mukata'a compound. These arms include 2 RPG-7 anti-tank launchers, 43 rockets (bombs) of various types for these launchers, and counterfeit Israeli currency notes.

9. PA officials in Ramallah succeeded over the past years in amassing launchers and bombs and distributed them to Palestinian Security Forces in order to attack IDF armored tanks and APCs.

#### **Fuad Shubaki and Arms Smuggling**

10. Shubaki is a close associate and confidante of Arafat, and accompanied him on official visits to Arab states. He also held independent meetings in states willing to support Palestinian terror efforts, such as Iraq, which he visited in November 2001.

11. The arms smuggling network established by Shubaki includes Iran and Iraq (the "axis of evil" states). Shubaki also engaged in other sectors and he is involved in arms smuggling from Jordan and Egypt too, by means of underground tunnels in the Rafah area in the southern Gaza Strip.

12. Fuad Shubaki coordinates the funding of Fatah elements perpetrating terrorist attacks under cover names. In an additional letter addressed to him, an ambitious plan was presented of the "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" (a cover name for Fatah's operational wing in the West Bank) to construct a workshop for heavy weapons production. Among other things, the intention was to acquire a lathe (for this purpose the organization required a sum of \$25,000) and a milling machine (\$40,000), these two items of machinery are needed for metal processing in the production process of arms such as artillery rockets and mortars.

13. The "Al Aqsa Martyrs Brigades" which is funded by the PA, also engages in the production of artillery rockets which are similar to the QASSAM rockets produced by Hamas. The rockets are banned, as explained above, according to international agreements signed by the PA.

14. The investment required for the arms workshop is approx. \$100,000 and the current operation expenses is estimated to be about \$15,000. It is no wonder that these requests were forwarded directly to Shubaki, the man personally in charge of acquisition and finance.

15. Palestinian attempts to smuggle significant quantities of arms were exposed and foiled by Israel during the past year. In May 2001, the Santorini ship was captured in the Mediterranean Sea and was found to be carrying, inter alia, SA-7 anti-aircraft missiles, RPG-7 anti-tank launchers, mortars and artillery rockets. The ship sailed from Lebanon in the service of the PFLP-GC organization of Ahmed Jibril (which enjoys Syrian patronage), with a cargo destined for Palestinian elements, including PA elements in the Gaza Strip. The ship previously carried out two smuggling attempts on behalf of the Hizballah organization.

16. In January 2002, the Karine-A ship was intercepted in the Red Sea while sailing from the Iranian coast with a large shipment for the PA. 80 well sealed submersible containers carried a large variety of weapon systems, with an overall weight of approx. 50 tons. This affair also emphasized the PA effort to obtain anti-tank launchers, mortars and artillery rockets. Part of the anti-tank

weapons aboard the Santorini, also originated from Iran.

17. It transpires that PA elements were involved in the obtainment of anti-tank launchers and their ammunition, which they are not permitted to possess, and their distribution to the security forces. As it appears from the captured documents, they were most careful in documenting the weapons - but not according to the text of the agreement with Israel, which prohibits the PA from possessing such arms and ammunition.

**Captured PA Document regarding Arms and Ammunition Inventory in PA Facilities**

Weapons Type	Quantity
Kalashnikov	727
MP-5	20
NATO	52
G-3	19
Siminov	2
Dakatirov	3
Guryanov	1
BKC	2
B-7	7
B-7 bombs	11
M-16	20
<b>Total</b>	<b>852</b>

Notes:

1. B-7 - The intention is to RPG-7 anti-tank launchers.
2. B-7 bombs - The intention is to rockets for these launchers.
3. Guryanov and PKC are heavy machine-guns which the PA is not permitted to possess.

**The Allocation of Prohibited Arms from PA Offices to its Forces**

The document captured by the IDF in the offices of the Financial Directorate in the Mukata'a in Ramallah is handwritten on paper of the PA - The General Security Financial Directorate of the Northern Districts ("The West Bank"). The following is a translation of the document:

Date: 18 November 2001

I, Mukadem (Lt. Colonel) Abd Al-Latif Abd Al Rahim have received the following items from the Financial Directorate:

R.B.G.-7 bombs - 20 only.

B-7 launcher propellant charge - 7 only.

And thus I am the undersigned - Mukadem Abd Al Latif Najj.

Notes:

1. Mukadem (Lt. Colonel) Abd AL Latif Najj is the person responsible for money and administration in the office of Haj Ismail Tsarzur, the head of the National Security Apparatus in the West Bank. This Lt. Colonel is also responsible for the arms of the National Security Apparatus.
2. The intention is to rockets and propellant charges for RPG-7 anti-tank launchers.

**PA Efforts to Obtain Arms Prohibited by International Agreements**

The following table lists the types and quantities of arms carried aboard ships during 2001/02 whose cargoes were destined for PA elements, as well as additional attempts of PA elements - official elements or elements financed and supported by the PA - to obtain arms banned according to international agreements. The table does not list all the arms captured aboard these ships, but only specific types - anti-tanks weapons, anti-aircraft missiles, mortars and artillery rockets (Katyushas).

	Santorini	Karine-A	Additional Attempts
Anti-Tank Weapon Systems Banned by International Agreements which			



were Captured in the Mukata'a Compound in Ramallah



30 Units of PG-7 Anti-Tank Rocket



5 Units of PG-7M Anti-Tank Rocket



8 Units of OG-7 Anti-Personnel Rocket

#### Chapter VI - Cooperation Between the PA and Terror-Sponsoring States

1. The PA holds contacts with the "axis of evil" states - Iran and Iraq, as well as with Saudi Arabia. The accumulating information, based, inter alia, on captured documents, indicateS that the PA receives money, arms and moral support from these states.

##### The Ties with Iran

2. The major role which the PA and its apparatuses played in the armed struggle against Israel brought about a change in Iran's attitude towards it. If until the Intifada, Iran viewed the PA as a "traitor" which seeks a political settlement with Israel, following the latest confrontation, the Palestinian apparatuses are considered by Tehran as the leaders of the violent struggle. On this background, the Iranian leader published (Al Mastakabal, September 2000), a religious decree permitting cooperation with the PA and Fatah. In our assessment, in the future the Iranian policy towards the PA will depend on its policies and activities towards Israel, and the PA's return to the political track will lead to the severing of the ties established with Iran during the past year.

3. The improved relations was prominently reflected in the cooperation during the Karine-A affair, which constituted only one expression of the continuing Iranian effort, which was significantly enhanced since the outbreak of the Intifada - to smuggle arms and force multipliers into the PA areas. This in order to create a "Lebanonization" of the conflict; escalate the confrontation between Israel and the Palestinians and disrupt any attempt to calm the situation and stabilize a cease fire. All this, in the framework of Iran's call to implement the "Lebanese model" in the PA as an essential stage on the path to Israel's destruction, in the more distant future.

4. On this background, Iran expresses persistent and declared support for suicide attacks (in an interview to Der Spiegel on 24 September 2001, Foreign Minister Kharazi stated that the suicide attack in the Dolphinarium disco in Tel Aviv was not an act of terror since Israel is an "occupying power". Ayatollah Atma Fadal Lankarani - a senior cleric in the Shi'ite world who resides in Qom and is identified with the conservative camp, also published a religious decree on 7 January according to which since the Palestinians have no other choice than to endanger their lives in suicide attacks in order to defend their state, such activities are permitted.

5. The bottom line - Iran draws much encouragement from the PA's turn to the route of terror (according to its method "legitimate resistance") and perceives the situation as an historical "window of opportunities" to achieve its ideological

goals (the destruction of Israel, which the Iranian regime continues to espouse) and its strategic goals (Israel's weakening and containment in the framework of Iran's attempts for regional hegemony). Since September 11 2001, the escalation in the conflict serves Iran in an additional aspect, as reflected in the words of Majlis member and Presidential advisor, Mohtashemi Pur (23 April 2002), who claimed that the US will not attack Iran and Iraq as long as the Palestinian crisis continues; and therefore Iran must "increase the strength" of the Palestinians and "prevent Israel from any possibility of solving the crisis in the Middle East".

### **The Ties with Iraq**

#### **Stronger Iraqi-PA Ties**

6. Since the end of 2001, Iraqi-PA ties have expanded. The convergence of their interests generates practical cooperation in both the political and the military realms. The equation appears to be comprised of terrorism, arms and oil.

7. Iraq has a distinct interest in causing an escalation in the Israel-PA confrontation, therefore it rides the latest wave of suicide attacks in Israel. The escalation in the situation serves the Iraqi interest: it draws the attention from the Gulf to the PA, turns the Arab World against Israel and postpones the US-initiated campaign against Iraq.

8. The Iraqis draw a simple equation, and this is how their actions in the present crisis should be viewed: on one side the US and "the Zionist Entity", vs. Iraq and Palestine on the other side.

9. Palestinian speakers describe this similarly:

*"The Palestinian conflict and the Palestinians' steadfastness will affect - if not all of the US' plans - at least those plans directed against Iraq, or at least their timing. This provides us with a safety margin that enables consolidating a more determined Arab stance for protecting Palestine and Iraq".* Nabil Sha'ath (15 March 2002).

10. The Iraqis have done and still do all they can to disrupt the US effort to stabilize the situation in the PA. The Middle East visits made by Vice President Cheney and General Zinni were called by the Iraqis in March 2002 as *"vicious and failing tours having one goal - to deal Iraq and the Palestinian Intifada a blow... These are two facets of one American aggressive action"*. According to the Iraqis, Gen. Zinni was sent to the Middle East *"in a false trick by which President Bush wishes to present the US as one interested in reducing the Zionist violence against the Palestinian people... in a miserable attempt to moderate the Arab stance which is growing extreme against the US"* (these descriptions were included in an analytical article in the Al Jamhuriyah newspaper, 13 March 2002).

#### **Encouraging the Suicide Attacks**

11. In recent months, Saddam Hussein has openly praised the suicide terrorists. In 3 consecutive statements - in an Iraqi cabinet meeting (January 2002, cited on Iraqi Television), in meetings he held with chiefs of tribes (December 2001) and clergymen (March 2002) - he praised the suicide actions, including the suicide attack in Jerusalem carried out by Waffa Idris, a 16 year old Palestinian girl. Saddam declared his intention to build a memorial in her name. According to Saddam, these attacks protect the principles of the Arab Nation and the Palestinian People.

12. At the end of the visit in Iraq of Faruq Qadumi, Head of the PLO Political Bureau, (March 2001), it was announced by Tareq Aziz, the Iraqi Foreign Minister, that Saddam Hussein decided to raise the grant given to Intifada 'victims' to \$25,000 (instead of the earlier \$10,000).

13. The sum to be donated to the family of a killed Palestinian by the Iraqi aid is comparable to an average salary in the PA for 5 years.

14. *To the list of Saddam Hussein's actions and statements in the last decade should be added the fact that he is one of the few Arab leaders to publicly justify the most horrific terrorist attacks, directed against innocent civilians.*

15. In addition to the direct support of the PA, Iraq encourages terrorism by operating pro-Iraqi terrorist organizations in the West Bank. To this end, Baghdad has revived in the last two years the PLF/Abu-Al-Abbas organization in the PA areas - it recruited and trained Al Abbas activists in camps in Iraq, equipped them with arms and sent them to carry out terrorist attacks in Haifa (April 2001) and the West Bank together with Hamas activists (July 2001). The



arms smuggling and attempts to infiltrate activists are apparently carried out from Jordanian territory. The PLF/Abu-Al-Abbas is the organization which carried out the terrorist attack on the Achille Lauro passenger ship, in which a US citizen was murdered.

16. The Iraqis openly seek to encourage the waves of terror against Israel, and especially suicide attacks. As long as Arafat does not operate to stop this terrorism he plays into the hands of the Iraqi game.

#### Arms for the Palestinians

17. Since the beginning of 2001, the Iraqis openly encourage arms transfers to the PA. The Iraqi proposal to the Arab League conference in Cairo (2 April 2002) included an explicit paragraph concerning "support of the Palestinian Intifada with all types of arms, primarily antitank weapons through Egypt, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon". This proposition continues Saddam Hussein's words (Iraqi News Agency, January 2001) that had the Palestinians had antitank weapons, they would have succeeded to destroy the Israeli armor and prevent it from reaching the Palestinian towns. "If the Arabs had wanted - and that is simple - it would have required only turning a blind eye to the arrival of such weapons".

18. *Since January 2001, the Iraqi President has publicly emphasized the Palestinians' right to procure arms and the duty of Arab states to assist them in this effort. This implies that Iraq openly calls for the violation of the international agreements which the PA signed - agreements forbidding the procurement of antitank arms.* (Recently captured documents clearly indicate that the PA procured RPG-7 antitank rocket launchers, forbidden by the international agreements which the PA had signed).

#### Iraqi Oil Finances the Terrorist Activity

19. Iraq is acting diligently to undermine the international sanctions regime imposed on it. In its efforts to export oil outside the international inspection envelope it operates vis-a-vis neighboring states and other Middle East elements.

20. At the same time, Iraq views the oil weapon as a means to aid the Palestinians. Saddam Hussein's declaration is a public expression of this approach. However, we can assume that funds accumulated from oil smuggling in recent years enable the Iraqis to aid the Palestinians with money, smuggled weapons and encouragement of suicide bombers.

21. *Iraq is indeed a state supporting terrorism, and Iraqi oil finances this support.*

#### Iraqi Financial Aid to the Palestinians

22. The Ba'ath Party representative (the ruling party in Iraq, has branches in the PA areas) publicly expressed a month ago ("Al Quds", 6 March 2002) the deepening Iraqi support of the PA. According to him, Iraq has transferred to the PA a sum of \$12 million as aid.

23. The PA views the Iraqi channel as an important economic support. PA representatives (including Azam Al Ahmed, who is in charge of liaison with Iraq) visited Iraq on numerous occasions in the last two years, in order to obtain financial aid. This aid is given to the families of Palestinians killed and wounded in the Intifada.

24. Ads thanking Saddam Hussein for this support appear in the Palestinian press, and serve the Iraqi propaganda machine, which encourages terrorism and endeavors to inflame the PA.

#### Palestinian Ads Praising Iraqi Support

The family of the Shahid Imad Adib Badr Aldaya expresses gratitude and appreciation to the Chairman Yasser Arafat and President Saddam Hussein, for their respectable stance concerning our Shahid and those wounded in the defense of Al Aqsa

("Al Hayat al Jadidah", December 2000)

The relatives  
of the  
Shahids  
Amjad  
Husseina and

